Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

BY LORD CHARLES BERESFORD.

THE great Empires of the East, the people who made them and defended them, the memorials of their triumphs, have all in turn disappeared. We can scarcely trace in the fellaheen of Egypt, or in the villagers of Persia, a single vestige of the mighty men of the pre-Christian ages. The Babylonian is no more. The Mede has disappeared. In the modern Greek it is hard to discover the heroes of Athens and Sparta, nor in the familiar organ-grinder do we recognize the noble Roman. The Greeks and Italians of to-day have many good qualities, and may yet play an important part in the world's history, but it is difficult to regard them as the pure descendants of the Athenian and the Roman.

The monuments of these bygone Empires consist of a few hundred scattered blocks of marble and dilapidated statues, a few worn inscriptions, and a few tons of dusty relics, over which the archæologist argues, speculates and guesses. The civilization these kingdoms have handed down, some of their discoveries, many of their laws, traditions of their history, and fragments of their customs, these alone survive. The sun rises, the sun sets. Between its rising and going down history is made, men are born and die, and fame is forgotten. Nations pass into the night of obscurity, and the names of kings who seem to fill the world in their own day are not even known to those who come after.

The tide of nationality, of Empire, of prosperity, has ever flowed from East to West. Not among the ruins of the old, but in the fruitful new soil of the Western world the Anglo-Saxon people have grown up, spread and multiplied, and they have cast their seed into the four corners of the earth. There are those who say that the knell of dissolution has been heard, that the

waves of night will soon encompass the British Empire, and that the foam of their crest has already reached the shores of the United States. That is the question which I have been asked to discuss in the following pages—whether the Anglo-Saxon will follow the path of degeneracy, as other nationalities have done, or whether there is some vitality in the blood and in the heart of the dominant race of to-day which will keep it from decay and preserve it from the fate of its predecessors.

To understand the problem properly, it is necessary to examine the origin of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to compare it with the races which have so signally failed to hold their own in the battle for existence. The great weakness of the nationalities which have been engulfed by the irresistible march of time has been the despotism which underlay their governments, the corruption which sapped their liberties, the luxury and indolence which ate into their vitality, and the remarkable fact that they became worn out and vicious, while the countries they had conquered, and the dependencies they had absorbed, at last broke away, embued deeply with the vices and but few of the original virtues of the sovereign state.

The Anglo-Saxon race cannot hope to escape the temptations and the trials which always follow in the train of success. But the race has had the immense advantage of being constantly invigorated by new blood. To the little "isles of the north and the west" came in turn Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Danes, Angles, Saxons and Normans. Each left on the shores of the new country some of its more adventurous spirits, who mingled with the Celtic inhabitants, and in the course of time the whole were welded into a vigorous, hardy race. It is this race which we call the Anglo-Saxon people, and which now spreads all over the globe, penetrating to the most remote regions of the earth. The process of adding new blood, and refreshing the corporate whole, did not cease with the Norman invasion. The British have from time immemorial held out an hospitable welcome to all who sought liberty and progress, and freedom from that worst of all tyrannies, ecclesiastical tyranny. Her sons who sailed across in the Spanish wake to the shores of the New World carried this love of the stranger with them, and in the United States to-day we see the old principle of incorporation going on; the race ever enriching its blood with that of the best and most

enterprising of other nations—the men who are cramped by the restrictions of the decadent Old World, and who would be the breeders of revolution and anarchy if they did not find under the Anglo-Saxon flag the freedom which enables them to settle down as law-abiding citizens.

There is one curious and pleasing feature in this absorption of new blood by Anglo-Saxondom, whether it be in the United Kingdom, in the United States or in any of the British colonies, where the process is going on. In a very few years, a generation at the outside, the new-comers are more Anglo-Saxon than the original stock, more keenly patriotic and more ready to resent any attack on the liberties of their chosen homeland. It is not necessary to go very deeply into the question, but in passing it may be noted that the foreign element of the second generation in the States, and sometimes of the first, are noted for being sturdy defenders of the Monroe Doctrine, and cherish more bitter memories against the old country in the Fourth of July celebrations than pure-bred Americans. Again, one other instance may be found on the British side. Many of the Canadians who are shedding their blood so freely in South Africa are the descendants of men who resented as strongly, and fought as bitterly against, British supremacy as the Transvaal and Free State Boers are fighting to-day. In the near future, the sons of the men who are struggling against civil freedom and education in South Africa and in the Philippines will be in their turn sturdy defenders of Anglo-Saxon tradition, were the whole force of the Old World oligarchies to endeavor to stifle the progressive Anglo-Saxon race.

It is the extraordinary capacity for absorbing and assimilating the progressive forces of other nationalities that has kept the Anglo-Saxon race moving with the times, and which will long postpone any decadence such as has befallen its predecessors. It is this infusion of fresh blood which has kept alive the fearless energy, sturdy determination, versatile ability, peculiar aptitude for self-government and the unresting spirit of enterprise which characterizes the great Anglo-Saxon people. These characteristics which guide the brother nations have brought them to their present dominant position in the world. The British Empire comprises 11,712,170 square miles of territory, soon to be increased by the unity of South Africa. The United States, within

its own borders and the islands lately added to its territory, rules over 3,692,125 square miles. Thus together the Anglo-Saxon race owns, controls or dominates 15,404,295 square miles—very nearly one-fourth of the total land surface of the globe. The population of the British Empire in 1898 was returned at 385,280,000. The United States population, with its newly added territory included, will probably show, at the census due this year, nearly 80,000,000 of inhabitants. The two combine over 465,280,000 of inhabitants, and this total is more reliable than the estimated 400,000,000 of the Chinese Empire. The Anglo-Saxon race, therefore, includes under its immediate sway over a fourth of the population of the world.

No race that has preceded it has ruled nearly one-fourth of the earth's surface and over one-fourth of its population.

While territorial expansion may be deprecated because of the added burdens for defense, and the greater tax on the national resources; while it should not be forgotten that expansion of trade is more useful than extension of acres, yet increase of territory and population is one of the necessary penalties of Empire. The United States had no wish to incorporate Cuba and the Philippines into her dominions. Great Britain had no wish to interfere with the independence of the South African Republics. The force of the circumstances, the irresistible march of events, the demands of liberty and justice and civil freedom were in each case all-powerful. Of course, there will always be well-meaning people who knock their heads against solid facts, and denounce on principle everything that their own country does. That is one of the drawbacks of party government; but the system of party, which gives facility for criticism, has so many safeguards against worse evils that the Anglo-Saxon may well elect to stand by his political methods.

Those who denounce the land hunger of the Saxon race, who in days gone by attacked Great Britain, and to-day are equally aggressive on the Philippine question, forget that the whole history of the Anglo-Saxon rise and development is to be found in this extension of boundaries. How else did the 120,979 square miles of the British Isles swell to 11,000,000 square miles, and the 1,378,981 square miles of the United States territory under Washington increase to its present dimensions of 3,692,125 square miles under McKinley?

The Anglo-Saxon race has added to its territories by conquest, treaty, purchase, annexation and discovery; and a long list of Presidents in the United States, as Senator Depew pointed out a few months ago, amongst whom the names of Jefferson, Polk, Pierce and even Monroe himself are to be found, have followed in the footsteps of British sovereigns and Parliaments in increasing the area over which the flags of liberty, equality and progress have been unfurled.

But the advancement of the race is not confined to the limits of its world-wide possessions or the numbers of its ubiquitous people. Since the world began never has such a commercial race flourished on the face of the earth as the Anglo-Saxon. The bulk of the merchandise of the four quarters of the globe floats under the Union Jack, or is owned by the country which flies the Stars and Stripes. The race has the keenest commercial instincts, and by superior intellect, honesty in dealing, and special aptitude for trade it has long held all comers at bay.

This superiority in trading which is so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon is one of the most promising features of the race, which points to continuance of prosperity and increase of Empire rather than to decadence. Few of the races that preceded the Anglo-Saxon were traders. They were chiefly military nations. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians were, it is true, great merchant adventurers, and Solomon's galleys penetrated to the remotest coasts in search of trade; but, in these isolated cases, the merchant was not sufficiently alive to the necessity for defending commerce against the cupidity of poorer but more military rivals. The Anglo-Saxon has so far, chiefly owing to the mixture of blood in his veins, kept alive side by side both the military and the commercial spirit; and it is this unique combination of talents which offers the best hopes for the survival of the Anglo-Saxon as the fittest of humanity to defy the decaying process of time.

. . . . . .

There are rocks ahead, however, which may yet wreck the Anglo-American barque. With moderately fair skies and smooth seas the supremacy of this great race has been built up, and with success have come all the evils which are so historically associated with the fall of the Empires and Nations of the past. In the

Motherland, the corruption of money has wrought fearful havoc in the ranks of Society. In the United States, there are ominous mutterings of the coming storm. The Plutocrat is gaining power each day on both sides of the Atlantic, and the Democrat is likely to be crushed under the heel of a worse tyrant than a King who wore the purple, or any Ecclesiastical Dignitary who set up claims to temporal power.

British society has been eaten into by the canker of money. From the top downwards, the tree is rotten. The most immoral pose before the public as the most philanthropic, and as doers of all good works. Beauty is the slave of gold, and Intellect, led by Beauty, unknowingly dances to the strings which are pulled by Plutocracy.

There was one good point about the old order of kingly supremacy and infallibility. It was its birthright to be the protector of chivalry, manliness and purity. Sullied as it was by many crimes, the ideal was always there, and each generation it brought forth fresh shoots. But what shall we say of the new order of Wealth, of the greed for gold which is its mainspring, of the way in which those who by birth and education should be the sternest protectors of the race, abandon all and fling themselves on the shrine of the Golden God?

This is the danger which menaces the Anglo-Saxon race. The sea which threatens to overwhelm it is not the angry waters of the Latin races, or of envious rivals, but the cankering worm in its own heart, the sloth, the indolence, the luxurious immorality, the loss of manliness, chivalry, moral courage and fearlessness which that worm breeds. This danger, which overthrew Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Athens, Rome and many other mighty nations and races in the past, now threatens the race to which we belong; but to it we oppose what they never possessed, on anything like the same principles or to the same extent as we—the power of democracy. "The voice of the people is the voice of God," says an old Latin proverb, and in the main that is true. The masses may err, they may misinterpret their own wishes. They may need powerful and educated leaders, able to guide popular sentiment into the right channels, and to prevent it doing damage by overflowing its banks, but the voice of the people in the end is right, because in the mass they are neither self-seeking nor self-serving; for it is impossible for a mass to be swayed by purely

selfish interests. To the masses we must look for the regeneration of the State and the rescue of the race.

If ever—which God forbid!—democratic feeling in the Anglo-Saxon people should be unheeded, and those who are their leaders should continue to play with the moral sentiment of the people, democracy will resent it, and the consequences will be more terrible than any upheaval in France or elsewhere; for when once democracy overflows, like a river which has broken its banks, it becomes a scourge and an evil, and goes farther than is just or right. The mob begin by asking for justice and right, and end by demanding a scapegoat and a martyr.

Apart from these dangers, which are not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon people, but are common to all successful nations upon whom the sun of prosperity has shone, there is no reason why the race which owes its conception to the little islands in the North Atlantic should not continue to grow and increase its prestige and its power, until it fills the earth with its shadow. The principles of liberty, justice, equality and all-round fair play which are instinctive in the Anglo-Saxon are such a remarkable contrast to the motives which animate most of those who envy him, that there is great hope that the ultimate issue of events will tend to recruit to the Anglo-Saxon the best of all nations, as it has done in the past. As the nations grow more intelligent, more advanced, the quality of the individuals who detach themselves from their original stock and become attached and incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon race increases in value.

Mutual self-interests have long drawn the two divisions of the race together; ties which have so often been referred to that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them here unite the British Empire and the United States. Sentiment has increased those ties in the last few years, but the national fear of the results of alliances or tightly drawn bonds of any kind has hitherto been a great obstacle to United Anglo-Saxon action. Both the great branches of the race are proud of their isolation, and loth to entangle themselves even with each other. The signs of the last two years, however, prove that a new motive, and a more powerful one than has ever gone before, is now making for Anglo-Saxon unity. This is the common recognition of the same high principles and purposes, and the same determination to carry them out at all costs. Never was this more clearly shown than in the struggle of

the United States for liberty and progress on behalf of the Philippines and Cuba, and the British struggle for the same principles in South Africa. In each case the feeling of the world outside the Anglo-Saxon countries has been bitterly against the chief combatants. In each case the object pursued has been misrepresented, vilified and sneered at by foreigners, but in each case the mutual understanding and sympathy of the other branch of the race has been freely and generously given, and the exhibition of that sympathy has been sufficient to deter a hostile combination against Anglo-Saxon interests and principles. If British sympathy preserved the United States from foreign interference during the war with Spain, it is none the less true that the reason why Continental rage against the British people has not been converted into action during the troubles in South Africa is the fear that an Anglo-American combination might result, and that such a combination would not be wholesome for the other aspirants after military glory.

The Right Honorable Arthur Balfour, M. P., has well expressed this unity of principles which is so powerful a lever in bringing the component parts of the race into touch. He pointed out that, in addition to our domestic patriotism and our Imperial or American patriotism, we also have an "Anglo-Saxon patriotism, which embraces within its ample folds the whole of that great race which has done so much in every branch of human effort, and in that branch of human effort which has produced free institutions and free communities. . . . It cannot be that those who share our language, our literature, our laws, our religion, everything that makes a nation great, and who share in substance our institutions—it cannot but be that the time will come when they will feel that they and we have a common duty to perform, a common office to fulfill, among the nations of the world."

The strongest practical proof of the patriotism which exists in the heart of the British and American nations is the fact that both nations possess Volunteer Armies and Navies; and, if necessary, the whole manhood of either nation would volunteer for the defense of their country or to vindicate its honor. All other nations have recourse to conscription in order to maintain their defensive forces.

Co-operation must be the keynote of the Anglo-Saxon race if

in the future it is to fulfill its high destiny in a worthy fashion. As long as the heart of the nations of two great Anglo-Saxon countries is sound, and beats true to those ideals of liberty and progress which are the most cherished talismans of the race, the future before the race is safe enough; but before the Anglo-Saxons can play their part properly in the world's history they must purge themselves of all that belittles their fair fame, and help each other to carry out those lofty ideals which have ever kept us a race of sailors and soldiers, as well as a race of merchant adventurers.

We are a practical, common-sense people, and it does us no harm to have infused into us from time to time a little of that Celtic temperament which is so easily kindled into warm enthusiasm. The Anglo-Saxon race has held its own where its predecessors have failed because of its cool, calm, almost phlegmatic and critical way of regarding all questions, but it is just as well to remember that it is the spice of enthusiasm, of adventure and daring which is also an admixture in our blood that has kept us steadily striking out in fresh directions, ever increasing the world's knowledge and our own importance. The law of life is progression. Nothing stands still. In reality the molecules of the hardest rock are in perpetual motion. To appear to stand still is to begin to go back. There are no signs of such a retrogressive movement in the Anglo-Saxon race; and, therefore, we may look confidently forward to its future and hope and pray that there is something, after all, in the visionaries' prophecy that through that race "all the nations of the world shall be blessed."

CHARLES BERESFORD.